1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride is shielded from it.

The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

[5 cont.]

172 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
● 174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
154 those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

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1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

[16 cont.]

[134] saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type
137 which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are
[131] divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in
174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated
144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

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if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

[174]

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.

[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.

[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[56 cont.]

695 776 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu ǂxu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him [763] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

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[539] ǂxu, ǂxu hũi mi, //kai tsao mi — Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ǂani u mĩ — "the lord shall lead me well
/nãna /ge a — to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa — where I am going, and he shall
/Nane /ã mi tsu (1) — lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally [123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we [174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar- [771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the ǂxu or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil [171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[63 cont.]
764 termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly
[178] Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports,
777 Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a
[224] rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and
[782] at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call
[782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie
[539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot,
[174] an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The
[773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good purpose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational

method had been established.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

method had been established. The /Kō and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tūn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

Origin.

Evidence of a widespread primitive civilisation is met with in South West Africa as in other parts of Southern Africa. There would appear to be but little reason to doubt that some branch of the Bushman family was originally associated with that civilization and that the Bushmen of to-day are descended from the aboriginal inhabitants of this sub-continent. The place and period of origin of the latter still remain unsolved. By some authorities it is maintained that in the remote past migration proceeded northwards and southwards from Central Africa; by others that a slow movement of the Aurignacians took place from Europe into and across Africa down to the Cape. On this subject Professor Sollas writes as follows: "It would thus appear that mural drawings, paintings or engravings, having many features in common, may be traced from the Dordogne across the Pyrenees into Spain, and beyond the Mediterranean into Morocco, Algeria, Oran and Egypt, over the Sahara, past the Victoria Nyanza, and thence on through Rhodesia, the Transvaal, and Orangia, to the southernmost extremity of Africa.

If, as their unity in subject and treatment suggests, these are all the work of the Bushmen or related tribes, then they afford precisely the kind of evidence which our hypothesis demands, and some of the Aurignacian people have really, as we supposed, passed in a slow migration across the whole of the broad territory which intervenes between Dordogne and the Cape. That the movement was towards the south is shown by the fact that the drawings become increasingly younger as we proceed in that direction. In France they are of Upper Palaeolithic age, in the north of Africa Neolithic, and in the south they are recent. From this again it follows that the migration must have occupied a long interval of time, during which the earth experienced more than one change of climate, and some of the animals which the artists took a special pleasure in depicting, such as the mammoth and the ancient Bubalus, became extinct.

We owe our knowledge of this great migration to a fortunate accident: had the passion for art which possessed the Bushmen been less strong or less enduring, it would probably have remained unsuspected to all time. It would be strange indeed if this were the sole migration of its kind; the chances are that it is but one among others, some of which may not be beyond our power to discover."

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173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the */Nu-//ẽin* or */Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *//Nu-//ẽin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *//Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuanaland Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ĕin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Sau-‡gnassi* to the northeast and the *‡Kŭng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Grootfontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in northwestern Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the latter half of the last century only a few individuals have survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

114-131 at a distance to observe my mother and me. By the end of our stay we had become friendly with them, and in 1952 we visited them again. We found them waiting confidently for us, living beside the track our trucks had made, as we had told them that we would come back if we were able, and this time we stayed with them for a year. In August 1955 we returned to them again, but before we did so we spent four months in Bechuanaland. We lived one month with a group of Naron and Kō Bushmen at a place called Okwa (the two groups were mixed together because their territories happen to meet at that place), and almost two months with Gikwe Bushmen in the four-hundred-mile stretch of empty desert between Ghanzi, near the border of South-West Africa, and Molepolole, near the border of the Transvaal. Ghanzi is a small town with a post office and a store, the center of a group of rather extensive European farms. Molepolole is a great Bantu village of the Bakwena (Crocodile) Bechuana people, where a Chuana chieftain lives. The other month we spent traveling to the Gikwe, because they are very remote.

114 Nobody knows where the Bushmen originated, from what racial stocks they came, or when they came to Africa. But here and there throughout southern Africa, in mountain caves and on sheltered rocks, paintings and engravings are found which are known to have been made centuries ago, and are believed to have been made by Bushmen. It is hard to say for certain that Bushmen made the paintings because, to my [531] knowledge, Bushmen do not paint on rocks or in caves now. However, Kung Bushmen do scratch designs on the bark of trees and on their ostrich eggshells. During each expedition I asked Bushmen to paint for me with paints and paper which I provided. Though none of the Bushmen we met had ever

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

seen paintings, photographs, or drawings of any kind, the paintings they made for me could be said to resemble the paintings and engravings on the rocks.

If there is a resemblance, it is not surprising. The Bushmen, together with the Hottentot peoples, are known to have lived in South Africa long before the Bantus came. At one time it all was theirs to roam in, all the riverbanks and all the grasslands, all the hills and valleys where cedar trees grow, from the Cape to Rhodesia, from Angola to Mozambique. But during the waves of the early Bantu migrations, when the taller, energetic Bantu people with their chiefs and kings, witch doctors and armies of soldiers, their metal spears and axes, shields and maces, came walking down from central Africa driving their great herds of cattle before them, the Bushmen yielded their land to the stronger newcomers, after a few struggles, surely, and most of them were either killed, enslaved, or driven farther and farther back into the most remote parts of the country, where the Bantu people and their livestock could not live. But the Bushmen are very tough and hardy, all sinew and wire, with not an extra ounce of flesh to carry, and possess great endurance of hunger and thirst, endurance to search through the grass roots all day looking for a vegetable to eat, or endurance to chase the antelope they shoot, which may take as many as four days to die and may walk as far as a hundred miles if the arrow was not particularly well placed. Bushmen are extremely observant, too, and can follow the spoor of their wounded antelope over the hardest ground or recognize it among the spoor of a herd of other antelope of its kind, and if they miss the spoor and find it again, they know from individual characteristics of the footprint that it is their antelope and no other. Even a Bushman child walking along in the veld can tell his mother's footprints, can see at once the tiniest dry stalk among the grass

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

132 themselves for the winter and in a state most suitable for food. The desert pales. Day and night, water evaporates from the pans; first becoming a film, then less than a film, with only the damp clay glistening. One noon, the clay begins to wrinkle in the sun. By June, the earth is dry: the land is fast and quietly held by winter.

132 731 Such would be a perfect round of seasons. In the periods of drought that have come every few years in the recent past, however, there have been no such perfect seasons and all living things have, of necessity, fastened tenaciously to the drying earth and held on. Even in normal years, the weather is unbalanced: large areas of the Kalahari may be flooded, while others receive a sprinkling of rain in what amounts to drought conditions. In this land, and through these seasons, the !Kung nation lives.

[31] 174 THE AREA in which the !Kung now live is called *Nyae Nyae*. How long they have lived there is not

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

known. At one time, Bushmen lived throughout Africa from as far north as Angola and Tanganyika to, southward, the Cape of Good Hope. This was a time when few peoples shared that part of the continent. In southern Africa, beside the many Bushmen nations, there were Hottentots and pre-Bantu Negroes—some of whom were hunters and some of whom practiced agriculture. In the distances between the nations grew years of peace.

About five centuries ago, larger, stronger, Bantu-speaking peoples, who had cattle to pasture, entered southern Africa from the north. They came in two prongs, like the horns of a bull, prodding down the eastern and western highlands. In search of grazing land, these Bantus were themselves driven south by defeat in wars then current on the plains of East Africa. The established peoples of the south—the Bushmen, the Hottentots and pre-Bantus—were dislocated by this push and began to move, themselves. This flux has yet to come completely to rest.

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

174
[181]

In such disturbed times, the Bushmen fare ill. They are not, and probably were not ever, a warlike people. Their society is not constructed for war, their culture dampens war. Yet, now, wars and battles began to scatter across the land, as groups of people—large and small, Bantu armies, itinerant raiders, the remnants of tiny nations and the dispossessed—marched and wandered in their search of conquest or safe distant places.

Some Bushmen nations were driven into pockets in the hills, where they died slowly. Some stayed on their land and were decimated and made slaves. Some resisted and, as one who spoke of his people told me: "We were soldiers in those days." Their armies changed into marauder bands that sometimes fought and often ran. Of these, the Heikum were an example—an embittered, scattered nation of travelers on the then uncertain grasslands of South West Africa. When, at

[p. 29]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

174 last, white and black met,—raiding one another for cattle across the Fish River—and the time of the Zulu and the Voortrekker was near, the classic period of the Bushmen was over.

131 THE AREA called *Nyae Nyae* lies on the border between South West Africa and Bechuanaland. It covers about 10,000 square miles, between 18°55′ and 21°0′ South latitude and 19°50′ to 21°25′ East longitude. In 133 the center of this area is a ring of *kalk* pans. *Nyae Nyae* is actually the name the !Kung gave to this ring of pans, although I have applied it to the whole area occupied by the !Kung nation.

136 There is game round these pans and, in small groups, everywhere in *Nyae Nyae*. Wild roots grow in the 137 bush that shrouds much of the territory. There is *tsi* in the south, while 133 *mangetti* forests crowd along the crests of white sand dunes in the south and east, and spread over the north. Their

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

137 nuts drop abundantly to the ground every year. There are ten permanent
133 waterholes—some clustered around the ring of the pans, the others set like infrequent jewels in a low limestone ridge along the eastern border. During the rains, small pans and hollows hold embroidered pools. Hollow trees also catch water and keep it until it turns brown, while several kinds of water roots can be counted on all year.

•174 Until recently, few came and none but Bushmen stayed for long in *Nyae Nyae*, for there is not enough water to attract pastoral peoples, and the soils are not the best for crops. The !Kung say: "We have always been here, drinking the *Nyae Nyae* waters." Perhaps this "always" began at about the time when the western Bantu horn was moving southward through Ovamboland. All one can say for sure is that they came, possibly seeking sanctuary in the empty spaces of the Kalahari, found, in *Nyae Nyae*, a quiet

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the !Kung have since lived on unchanged —replacing only their bone arrow-points with metal ones, made from the nails and wire that filtered into the desert after the Europeans' entry into South West Africa.

178 The !Kung nation cannot so live for much longer. Already their last lands are being occupied by the Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

So much for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

23. MENTZEL, O.F.
A complete and authentic geographical and topographical description of the famous and (all things considered) remarkable, African, Cape of Good Hope... translated from the original German by C.V. Marais and Dr. T. Hodge. Rev. and ed. by H. J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town, 1944. originally published in 1787. Part 3 vol. 2 of German ed. 113

p. 260-263 The Bushmen of the Cape Province
p. 308-309, 330, 332, 334 Battles between Bushman and settlers described

24. MOFFAT, Robert
Missionary Labours and scenes in Southern Africa. London, 1842. 624 p. illus.

p. 6-14 Origin and history of the Bushmen
p. 49-64 History of Kitchener's mission to the Bushman. This section includes a description of their way of life.

25. MOODIE, Donald and PHILIP, John
Correspondence between Donald Moodie, Esq. compiler and editor of the Cape Records and the Rev. John Philip D.D. relative to the production for publication of alleged "official authority" for the statement that in the year 1774 the whole race of Bushmen or Hottentots who had not submitted to servitude was ordered to be seized or extirpated. Cape Town. n.d. 76 p.

26. MOODIE, Donald, comp.
The record: or a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa. Cape Town, 1960.
Bushmen also known as Soaqua, Obiqua, Soeswa, Strandloopers, Vischman, Waterman. [101]

27. MOSSOP. E.E. ed.
The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) with an English translation by A.W. van der Horst, and The journals of Jacobus Coetsé Jansz (1760) and William van Reenen (1791) with an English translation by Dr. E.E. Mossop. Cape Town, 1935.
In these journals Bushmen are referred to as: Chaboup, Thaboek, Tkaboeba and Saagomonka. The journals contain numerous references to the Bushmen, their hunting methods and social customs. [101]

28. PRINGLE, Thomas
Narrative of a residence in South Africa. London, 1834. 116 p. [104]

p. 77-80 Pringle believed the Bushman to have originally been a pastoral people. Commandos against them described.

29. SHAW, Barnabas
Memorials of Southern Africa by Barnabas Shaw, Wesleyan missionary resident in the country nearly twenty years. London, 1834. 346 p.

p. 27-33 Bushmen customs and appearance

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

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648 of the !Kung who were independent at the time of the census had a history of living with Bantu for periods in the past.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the !Kung living arrangements have been affected by the Bantu presence, beyond stating the obvious facts, that, until the Bantu came, there could be no intermarriage and no opportunities for employment. At this stage of analysis, it would certainly be premature to attribute the fluidity of camp membership to the effects of contact, since there is good evidence that this flexibility is adaptive in the context of traditional subsistence patterns (see Chapters VII and VIII).

A history of contact

127 This historical sketch of the period 1879-1965 is based on the testimony of informants resident in the Dobe area. Since none of the Bushmen and very few of the Bantu had any knowledge of the dates of historical events, these were provided by discussions with the British administration at Maun and by a survey of the early literature on the area.

193 The pre-contact period - There is no evidence in their oral tradition that the !Kung of the interior have migrated there from elsewhere. This corroborates the !Kung belief quoted by Lorna Marshall that "they have lived in the Nyae [174] Nyae area since time began" (1960:325). The interior !Kung cannot, by their own account, be considered to be recent refugees from more favorable habitats.

174 439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu [411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence [415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and [276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things [173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in [411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult [411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know- [321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing [325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping [178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that [324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 Early contacts, 1879-1925 - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene- 175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van 648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/67]

224 communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South
231 African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Bantu. It
• [174] is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting. In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting. Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

[184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that required no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

Chapter II

HISTORY, DISTRIBUTION, AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Bushmen

Early History

74 The Bushmen were long regarded as the earliest human inhabitants of South Africa, and as having occupied the country from times of remote antiquity. This belief, most fully expressed in Stow's classical work, *The Native Races of South Africa*,[1] was not without some foundation. Of the peoples of South Africa of whom there is any definite historical record, the Bushmen are certainly the oldest; the other native peoples show in their traditions that when they first entered the country they found the Bushmen already scattered over the greater part of its surface; while the relics of the Bushmen, such as rock paintings, rock engravings, and stone implements, are distributed over a far more extensive area than was occupied by the people themselves within historical times, and frequently occur under conditions which postulate some antiquity.

72 74 It has now become fully established, however, that the Bushmen were preceded in the occupation of South Africa by other peoples. Recent archæological investigation has shown that there existed in the country a number of different stone implement industries, clearly separated in time as well as in character.[2] These industries are grouped chronologically into the Earlier, Middle, and Later Stone Age Cultures. The stone implements and rock art associated with the Bushmen all belong to the Later Stone Age, and it is only in deposits of this Age that skeletal remains of the Bushmen have been found.

[1] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa: A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country* (London, 1905), chaps. i–ii.

[2] The most useful general account of the prehistoric cultures of South Africa and their northern affinities is by M. C. Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, which contains a good bibliography. Cf. also the valuable sketch by A. J. H. Goodwin, "The Stone Age in South Africa," *Africa*, ii (1929), 174–82, and the recent series of monographs by Goodwin and Lowe on *The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa* (Annals of the S. Afr. Museum, 27, 1929).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

The Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must consequently be regarded as previous to the Bushmen.

There is, moreover, a lack of continuity in type between the Middle and the Later Stone Cultures which precludes the possibility that the latter, and the Bushmen stone industries forming part of it, developed in South Africa out of the former. On the other hand, scattered all over East Africa, especially in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, there are found stone implement industries and in some cases rock paintings so closely resembling those of the Bushmen that they must be regarded as of a common origin. These facts together lead to the conclusion that the stone industries associated in South Africa with the Bushmen were not indigenous to the country, but constitute an invading element which penetrated into it from the north-east and superseded the two pre-existing stone cultures. As yet no human remains have been found definitely associated with either of these preceding cultures, except in the case of the Still Bay Industry of the Middle Stone Age, from a deposit of which was recently excavated a skeleton belonging to the extinct racial type now termed "Boskopoid".[1] This racial type, of which other remains have been discovered, but with no clear archæological association, differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, and the two cannot be regarded as intimately related.[2]

All this suggests that the Bushmen themselves came into South Africa with their culture from the north-east. No skeletal remains have yet been discovered north of the Zambesi River similar to those of the Bushmen, however, nor are there any peoples living outside South Africa who may be regarded definitely as Bushman in race. Attempts have often been made to establish a connection between the Bushmen and the Pygmy peoples inhabiting the equatorial forests of Africa, more especially in the Congo region. The two groups of peoples certainly have various features in common. Both, for example, are short in stature, in both the hair is short and woolly, and the skin colour brownish-yellow. But in the shape of the head and above all in the build of the body they differ so markedly as to eliminate any possibility of racial identity. There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro,

[1] Goodwin, op. cit., 180–1; Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 126.
[2] Cf. G. D. Laing, "The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman, and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 905–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 13

174 144 to which main stock they are generally regarded as belonging. But they must be looked upon essentially as divergent branches which have specialized along different lines.[1]

At the same time, although as a distinct racial type the Bushmen are now restricted to Africa south of the Zambesi River, traces of their former existence further north are found not only in culture. Physical features reminiscent of them are seen occasionally in various peoples of East-Central Africa, such as the Andorobo, Elgunono, and Doko, while between Abyssinia on the north and the Zambesi River on the south evidence of their absorption by the Nilotic and Bantu negroes is found in sporadic reversions of their type occurring in almost all the East African peoples.[2] Moreover, the Sandawe, a settled hunting people living west of the Irangi plateau in Tanganyika Territory, speak a language which in phonology (especially in the occurrence of " click " consonants), syntax, and vocabulary has certain by no means insignificant resemblances with the Khoisan languages of South Africa, and the Kanjegu of the same region are also said to have a click language.[3] There seems to be no great similarity in appearance between these peoples and the Bushmen; but, as Dempwolff suggests, it is quite probable that they were originally Bushmen who have since become considerably modified, first by intermixture with Hamitic immigrants into East Africa, and later by the incorporation of Bantu blood as well.

174 On the whole, therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that at a very early time the Bushmen occupied the hunting grounds of tropical East Africa, perhaps even to the confines of Abyssinia. That they are no longer to be found in this region may be ascribed to its extensive invasion by later Hamitic and Negro peoples. Harried by the encroachment of these more powerful races, the Bushmen, where they were not exterminated or absorbed, must gradually have passed southwards, keeping along the more open grasslands of the eastern

[1] The points of resemblance between the Bushmen and the Pygmies are fully discussed by F. von Luschan, " Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76, who is of the opinion that the two are closely related. The main arguments against this view may be seen in, e.g. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, pp. 518 sqq., and R. Pöch, " Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80. A. C. Haddon, in *The Races of Man*, 1924, pp. 17–18, gives short summaries of the physical characteristics of the two peoples, which bring out very clearly the essential points both of resemblance and of difference.

[2] A. C. Haddon, Presidential Address to Section H, *Rept. Brit. Assn.* (*South Africa Meeting*), 1905, p. 514.

[3] O. Dempwolff, *Die Sandawe*, 1916, esp. pp. 63–70; F. J. Bagshawe, " The Peoples of the Happy Valley," *J. Afr. Soc.*, xxiv (1924–5), 25 sqq., 117 sqq., 219 sqq., 328 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

mountainous zone, where they could still preserve their hunting mode of life, until, when the written history of South Africa commences, they were roaming all over the territory south of the Zambesi River. Presumably they had by then largely exterminated their Boskop predecessors, although certain types of so-called "Strandlooper" skulls excavated along the south-east coast of the Cape have been regarded as evidence of occasional amalgamation between the two races.[1] The human palæontology of South Africa is, however, too little known for this phase of Bushman history to be accurately determined.

How far back their invasion dates there is also as yet no certain means of telling. The absolute chronology of the South African stone ages, the only possible source of information on this point, is so far completely undetermined.[2] Without the guidance it alone can afford, estimates of the antiquity of the Bushmen in South Africa must remain purely speculative. It is certain, judging by what is known of the history of the later invading peoples, that the Bushmen came into the country well over a thousand years ago, but at present no more definite or even approximate date can be assigned to their immigration.

General Distribution

In their occupation of South Africa they seem to have extended over almost the whole region from the Zambesi in the north down to the south coast. Their relics, in the form of skeletal remains, culture deposits, pictorial art, and even place-names, are found widely scattered over most of this region, especially in the east and the south, and afford indisputable evidence of their former presence in many parts where they are no longer seen. Even well within historical

[1] Laing, op. cit., 906–7; cf. also a series of papers by Dart, Laing, and Gear on "Strandlooper" remains from Zitzikama, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vols. xxi–xxiii (1924–6). The term "Strandlooper" (coast ranger), applied by several writers on the prehistory of S. Africa to the people associated with the kitchen middens found along the south and west coasts of the Cape, should be abandoned, as the latent implication that these people form a distinct racial group is not justified. For the most part they were merely Bushmen who took to the seashore, so that we have to deal with a particular mode of life rather than with a particular people (cf. Schapera, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii, p. 862). The "Strandlooper" remains referred to in the series of papers mentioned above represent a mixture of these coast-dwelling Bushmen and people of the Boskop type.

[2] It may be noted, however, that the industries associated with the Later Stone Age persisted until long after the arrival of the Europeans in S. Africa, and that as recently as 1927 Lowe came in contact with an old Bushman who was not only acquainted with the methods of making stone implements, but "actually struck flakes and demonstrated the secondary trimming of end- and side-scrapers" (Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 180).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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times Bushmen were living in districts from which they have now completely disappeared, or where perhaps only a few individuals still survive. This is the case in Natal, Basutoland, Orange Free State, and especially the Cape, in all of which, as recently as the middle of last century, the Bushmen were still fairly numerous.

But the encroachment of later invading peoples gradually ousted them from the more favourable districts which they occupied. First the Hottentots, advancing south along the west coast, drove them from the fertile plains to the mountain fastnesses of the interior. Then the Bantu, pressing down the east coast, overcame the fierce resistance of the little people upon whose ancient hunting grounds they trespassed. Other Bantu tribes, traversing the interior of the country, came into conflict with the Bushmen in the arid plains north and south of the Orange River and the Vaal and in the rugged mountains to the east. The European settler, in his turn pushing north and east and seeking fresh pastures for his growing herds, waged an equally relentless war against them. Before each successive invader the Bushmen, where they were not forcibly exterminated, had eventually to seek refuge in more unfavourable and inaccessible parts.[1]

At the present time they are found living principally in the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and in the northern half of South-West Africa. On the north they extend into South-East Angola up to about 15 degrees S. latitude, on the east into the Tuli and adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, on the south into the region of the Nossob and Molopo Rivers, and on the west to the Etosha Pan in South-West Africa. Small isolated remnants are also met with in the vicinity of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, in the coastal province of Mossamedes in South-West Angola, and in the Namib desert strip along the coast of South-West Africa.

Everywhere else the Bushmen have been either exterminated, expelled, or incorporated racially by later invaders, although stray individuals may still be seen occasionally in the north-west districts of the Cape and sporadically in Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It is only in the Kalahari Desert and the north-eastern parts of South-West Africa that they still retain to any degree their original mode of life and organization. Even here they have all been affected to some

[1] A vivid account of the vain resistance offered by the Bushmen to the peoples encroaching upon them, and of the relentless manner in which they were persecuted, is given by Stow, op. cit., especially in chaps. ix–xii. Cf. also K. Barthel, "Völkerbewegungen auf der Südhälfte des afrikanischen Kontinents," *Mitt. Ver. Erdk. Leipzig*, 1893, pp. 8–20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

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that the languages of both peoples belong to the same language family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentially alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originally been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate, however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type—to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, and above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence of Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fact that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottentot languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at least of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii); *idem*, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 252–3; cf. also F. Stuhlmann, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–1, 147.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.